

## Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

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DRAFTED BY S:LSEAGLEBURGER:ML  
APPROVED BY S - MR. EAGLEBURGER  
S/S - MR. MOFFAT

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O 011538Z MAY 76 ZFF4  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 104816 TOSEC 110505

EXDIS FOR THE SECRETARY FROM EAGLEBURGER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), OGEN

SUBJECT:

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A MEMORANDUM WRITTEN FOR ME  
BY SOMEBODY ON MY STAFF. WHILE IT MAY BE TOTALLY OFF BASE  
ON WHAT A CARTER-FORD ELECTORAL BATTLE MIGHT LOOK LIKE, YOU  
MAY FIND IT OF INTEREST.

2. BEGIN TEXT IT IS INTERESTING TO SPECULATE WHAT SORT OF  
CAMPAIGN WILL TAKE PLACE THIS FALL. HERE ARE MY "WORST-  
CASE PREDICTIONS:

(A) CARTER WILL CHOOSE A NORTHERN OR WESTERN LIBERAL  
SENATOR AS A RUNNING MATE TO CEMENT THE HUMPHREY-JACKSON-  
UDALL CONSTITUENTS TO HIM (I. MONDALE II. CRANSTON  
III GLENN).

(B) CARTER WILL ACCUMULATE OVER 1,000 DELEGATES BEFORE THE  
CONVENTION AND MAKE HIS NOMINATION INEVITABLE. THIS BEING  
THE CASE, HUMPHREY WILL ENDORSE CARTER BEFORE THE CONVEN-  
TION AND THEREFORE ENSURE A UNIFIED PARTY.

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(C) FORD WILL HAVE A TOUGH DECISION ON WHERE TO SPEND TIME AND MONEY TO BEAT CARTER. DOES HE RUN HARD IN THE NORTH AND SACRIFICE THE SOUTH OR STICK TO THE BASIC REPUBLICAN SOUTH-MIDWEST AND WEST STRATEGY? EITHER CHOICE IS LIKELY TO PROVE PERILOUS AGAINST CARTER. IF HE ELECTS TO CONCENTRATE ON THE NORTH, HE MUST CHOOSE, CONVENTION PERMITTING, A LIBERAL REPUBLICAN (I. HATFIELD II. MATHIAS III BROOKE IV RICHARDSON) AS VICE-PRESIDENT. TO EFFECTIVELY CONTEST THE SOUTH, ON THE OTHER HAND, HE NEEDS A SOUTHERN RUNNING MATE (I. BAKER II BROCK III CONNALLY). THERE ARE PROBLEMS WITH ALL OF THE SOUTHERN REPUBLICAN VICE-PRESIDENTIAL POSSIBILITIES. ALL, BUT CONNALLY, LACK STATURE AND CONNALLY, OF COURSE, HAS LEGAL PROBLEMS. THIS FACT COUPLED WITH THE GENERALLY BETTER PROSPECTS FOR FORD IN THE NORTH WILL TEND TO FAVOR THE SELECTION OF A LIBERAL REPUBLICAN AND THE PURSUIT OF A NORTHERN STRATEGY.

(D) CARTER WILL NOT PROPOSE SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY. NEVERTHELESS HE WILL ADDRESS FOREIGN POLICY AND PARTICULARLY KISSINGER'S ROLE WITH SEVERAL GOALS IN MIND. FIRST BY EMPHASIZING KISSINGER'S ROLE IN FOREIGN POLICY, CARTER WILL HOPE TO DEMONSTRATE FORD'S LACK OF LEADERSHIP AND BY SO DOING NULLIFY ANY CHARGES AS TO HIS OWN LACK OF EXPERIENCE. SECOND, HE WILL HOPE THAT THE MENTION OF KISSINGER WILL INVOKE MEMORIES OF NIXON AND WATERGATE. FINALLY, HE WILL USE FOREIGN POLICY AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE FAILURE OF THE ADMINISTRATION TO "TRUST THE AMERICAN PEOPLE." HE WILL ARGUE THAT THE "LONE COWBOY" STYLE IS NOT AN EFFECTIVE WAY TO RALLY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BEHIND A FOREIGN POLICY.

(E) FORD WILL CHARGE THAT CARTER IS DANGEROUSLY INEXPERIENCED. UNFORTUNATELY, FORD IS IN A UNIQUELY WEAK POSITION TO MAKE THIS CHARGE.

(F) THERE IS NO REASON FOR CARTER TO SHARPEN HIS STANDS ON DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES AND HE WILL DO SO RELUCTANTLY AND ONLY IF PRESSED.

(G) THE SUCCESS OF FORD'S NORTHERN STRATEGY IS TIED TO  
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REAGAN. TO EFFECTIVELY IMPLEMENT THE STRATEGY FORD MUST MOVE TO THE LEFT AND ACT LIKE A "NATIONAL" CANDIDATE AND HE MUST GO TO THE CONVENTION WITH ENOUGH DELEGATES TO NOMINATE A LIBERAL REPUBLICAN AS VICE-PRESIDENT. CONSEQUENTLY AS THE DAYS GO BY WITHOUT A FORD MOVE TO THE LEFT AND AS REAGAN CONTINUES TO WIN DELEGATES THE POSSIBILITY OF A NORTHERN STRATEGY WANES. FORD MAY WELL BE LEFT WITH ONLY A SOUTHERN STRATEGY.

(H) 1976 WILL BE RERUN OF 1964. END TEXT SISCO

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